

University of Florida
Center for Latin American Studies

Gender and Political Conflict in Latin America

LAS 6938

Professor: Flávia Biroli, PhD (Spring 2024 Bacardi Family Eminent Scholar)

Class Meeting Times: 11:45am – 2:45pm

Location: Grinter 376

Office Hours: Tuesdays 2:30pm – 4:30pm

Contact: flaviabiroli@ufl.edu

Course description and learning goals:

Conflicts and cleavages around gender, family issues, and religion have become more salient in political and electoral disputes in Latin America after 2010. Opposition to gender equality and sexual rights emerged under new fashion across the region, with effects varying between countries and according to issues. Studies point to their role in political polarization and the growth of far-right movements.

These conflicts are not peculiar to this region of the world, and the main goal of the course is to discuss how they are displayed in Latin America, considering institutional, socioeconomic, and cultural variables.

Democratization and, later, the so-called “pink tide” opened opportunities for feminist and LGBTQ+ movements to expand their participation in politics. In some countries, advancements in law and public policy are significant. The backlash against them is also noteworthy. It can take the form of a straightforward reaction to new rights and policies or develop as a preemptive reaction to avoid changes. Resistance to setbacks has also played out differently, which can be related to political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors.

The course addresses these conflicts and the dynamics of countermovement that characterize them. To do that, it discusses feminist and LGBTQ+ politics; the backlash against them; and its effects. It approaches these conflicts considering the main actors, institutional processes, and arenas, as well as social mobilization and opinion.

In short, the aim is to investigate political conflict around gender in Latin America, its characteristics, and its effects. It does that by exploring institutional, socioeconomic, and cultural variables that account for its variation across the region.

Assessment:

Summary of assessment, due dates, and percentage:

Item	Percentage	Due date
Participation	10%	Throughout the semester
Paper outline	20%	February 5th and March 8th
Research presentation	20%	April 24th
Research paper	50%	April 28th

Participation (10%)

Students must come to class prepared to discuss the texts and participate actively in all sessions. They are expected to prepare at least one question in advance for each session.

Paper outline (20%)

Due February 5th: Title and abstract

Please send me your title, abstract, and short list of reading for your literature review until February 5th. Then schedule a meeting with me to discuss your proposal.

Due March 8th: paper outline

You are required to submit a draft in the form of an outline of your final paper until March 8th. This should include (a) title and abstract; (b) research question, (c) objectives, (d) brief discussion of theoretical framework, (e) hypothesis or departing claims; (f) indication of data (quantitative or qualitative) you will draw evidence from. It should be limited to 3000 words.

Research presentation (20%)

April 24th

All students must present their final research paper on the final class. Each student will have 10-15 minutes to present.

Research paper (50%)

Due April 28th

This is your final assignment. You should present an article that follows the format required by academic journals. Please make sure that your goals and arguments are clear and based in evidence (quantitative or qualitative data, even when it comes from secondary literature). Your article should be limited to 8000 words.

Grading Scale

≥ 93 A

90-92 A-

87-89 B+

83-86 B

80-82 B-

77-79 C+

73-76 C

70-72 C-

67-69 D+

63-66 D
60-62 D-
<= 60 E

Attendance

For successfully passing this course, your participation and engagement are **expected**. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings and other materials listed for that day. If you are sick, please stay home but notify the instructor (see full policy below).

Communications

Please let me know of any issues you have with the class or that can be affecting your academic performance. If you have questions, you are encouraged to schedule office hours. Please use **Canvas** for all communications with me.

Policy on Late and Make-up Work:

Due dates are final. Assignments will be marked down 1 point for each day late. Discuss with me beforehand if you have any difficulties turning in assignments on time. Make-up work will only be accepted for excused absences as per university policy.

Grade Return Timing:

Please allow two weeks after you turn in an assignment to receive grades and feedback.

Topics & readings

[Readings and sequence of classes are subject to change]

January 10

Course presentation.

Introduction: Gender, feminist politics, and democracy in Latin America.

January 17

Engendering democracy in (very) unequal societies.

Flávia Biroli: "Gender politics, the cultural and the socioeconomic in Latin America", Paper presented at the conference *Political Reactions to Changing Societies*, ILAS, University of Columbia, March 2023.

Fernando Filgueira; Juliana Martínez Franzoni: "The Divergence in Women's Economic Empowerment: Class and Gender under the Pink Tide". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, vol. 24 (4), 2017.

Göran Therborn: "Inequalities in Latin America". *Working Paper Series*, n. 1. Berlin: desiguAldades.Net, 2011.

Recommended:

BENZA, Gabriela; KESSLER, Gabriel: *Uneven Trajectories: Latin American Societies in the Twenty-First Century*. Elements in Politics and Society in Latin America. Cambridge: Buenos Aires: Siglo Veinteuno, 2020.

BLOFIELD, Merike; FILGUEIRA, Fernando; GIAMBRUNO, Cecilia; FRANZONI, Juliana Martínez. In: Sátyro, Natalia; Del Pino, Eloísa; Midaglia, Carmen, "Beyond States and Markets: Families and Family Regimes in Latin America". London: Palgrave MacMilan, 2021.

HOFFMAN, Kelly; CENTENO, Miguel Angel. "The Lopsided Continent: Inequalities in Latin America". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29, 2003; 363-90. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100141

MAURIZIO, Roxana. "Employment and Informality in Latin America and the Caribbean: an insufficient and unequal recovery". Technical Note Labour Overview Series. ILO: 2021.

United Nations. *Families in a changing world*. Progress of The World's Women 2019-20. New York: UN Women, 2019.

UNDP. *Regional Human Development Report 2021. Trapped: High Inequality and Slow Growth in Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: UNDP, 2021.

January 24

State capacity, governance, and the challenges to engender democracy.

Ana Laura Rodríguez Gustá; Nancy Madera; Mariana Caminotti. "Governance Models of Gender Policy Machineries under Left and Right Governments in Latin America". *Social Politics*, 24 (4), 2017; 452-480.

Conny Roggeband: "The Return of the State and the Pink Tide in Latin America: Implications for the Capacity and Democratic Quality of Gender Equality Agencies". *Revista SAAP*, 15 (2), 2021; p. 256-286.

Verónica Schild: "Feminism and Neoliberalism in Latin America". *New Left Review*, 96, nov/dec 2015.

Recommended:

BIROLI, Flávia. "Care and the New Patterns of Precarity". In: Vosman, Frans et alii, ed. *Ethics of Care: The State of the Art*. Leuven, Paris, Bristol: Peeters Publishers, 2020b; pp. 209-232.

DEHESA, Rafael de la; MUKHERJEA, Ananya. "Building capacities and producing citizens: The biopolitics of HIV prevention in Brazil". *Contemporary Politics*, 2012.

DAGNINO, Evelina. "Citizenship: a perverse confluence". In: Andrea Cornwall and Deborah Eade, eds, *Deconstructing Development Discourse*. Oxford: Practical Action and Oxfam, 2007; pp. 101-110.

FRANCESCHET, Susan. "Gender policy and state architecture in Latin America". *Politics & Gender*, 7(2), 2011; p. 273-279.

GAGO, Verónica. *Neoliberalism from Below*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

MAZZUCA, Sebastián L.; MUNCK, Gerardo L. *A Middle-Quality Institutional Trap: Democracy and State Capacity in Latin America*. Elements in Politics and Society in Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

PECHENY, Mario Pecheny; LA DEHESA, Rafael. "Sexuality and politics in Latin America". In: *Sexuality and Politics: Regional Dialogues from the Global South*, vol. 1, Sexuality Policy Watch, 2015.

January 31

The "pink tide": paradoxes and developments

Elisabeth Jay Friedman; Constanza Tabbush: "Introduction". In: FRIEDMAN, Elisabeth Jay (ed.). *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

Merike Blofield; Christina Ewig; Jennifer Piscopo: "The reactive left: Gender equality and the Latin American pink tide". *Social Politics* 24(4), 2017, pp. 345-369.

Barry Cannon; Mo Hume: "Central America, civil society and the 'pink tide': democratization or de-democratization?", *Democratization*, 19:6, 2012; 1039-1064, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2011.619775

Recommended:

ALCANTARA, Ana Alice. "Brazil: State Feminism at Work". *Opendemocracy.net*, access <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/brazil-state-feminism-at-work/>

- BIROLI, Flávia. "Feminism and democracy in Brazil". In: Vladimir Puzone et al. (ed). *The Brazilian Left in the 21st Century*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Friedman, Elizabeth Jay. "Gender, Sexuality and the Latin American Left: testing the transformation". *Third World Quarterly*, 30(2), 2009; 415-433.
- ROUSSEAU, Stephanie; EWIG, Christine. "Latin America's Left-Turn and the Political Empowerment of Indigenous Women". *Social Politics*, 24(4), 2017; 425-451.
- WAYLEN, Georgina (ed.). *Gender, institutions, and change in Bachelet's Chile*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- KAMPWIRTH, Karen. "Neither Left nor Right: Sandinismo in the Anti-Feminist Era". In *NACLA Report on the Americas* 41 (1), January/February 2008; 30-34.
- Podcast. Elisabeth Jay Friedman on the Pink Tide and Gender, <https://kpfa.org/player/?audio=307593>

February 7

Is this a reaction? The concept of "backlash" and the political disputes in Latin America

Elizabeth Corredor: "On the Strategic Uses of Women's Rights: Backlash, Rights-based Framing, and Anti-Gender Campaigns in Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement", *Latin American Politics & Society* 63(3), 2021, pp. 46-68.

Stéphanie Rousseau: "Antigender Activism in Peru and Its Impact on State Policy". *Politics & Gender*, vol. 16, no.1. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000070>

Flávia Biroli; Mariana Caminotti: "The Conservative Backlash Against Gender in Latin America", ed. Flávia Biroli e Mariana Caminotti. *Politics & Gender*, Critical Perspectives, 16, 2020.

Recommended:

- BIROLI, Flávia. 2018. "Violence against Women and Reactions to Gender Equality in Politics." *Politics and Gender*, 14(4):681–85.
- CORREA, Sonia; PATERNOTTE, David Paternotte; KUHAR, Roman. "The Globalisation of AntiGender Campaigns." *International Politics and Society*, 2018.
- CORREA, Sonia (ed.). *Anti-gender politics in Latin America*. Summary of Country Case Studies, 2018-20. Available at <https://sxpoltics.org/summaries-of-country-case-studies/22094>
- MANSBRIDGE, Jane; SHAMES, Shauna L. "Toward a Theory of Backlash: Dynamic Resistance and the Central Role of Power". *Politics & Gender*, 4 (4), 2008; pp. 623-634.
- PATERNOTTE, David. "Backlash: a misleading narrative". London: LSE Blog, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/03/30/backlash-a-misleading-narrative/>
- SANIN, Juliana Restrepo. "Violence against women in politics: Latin America in an era of backlash". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 45 (2), 2020
- SERRANO, Fernando. "La tormenta perfecta: ideología de género y articulación de públicos". *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad*, n. 27, dec. 2017, pp. 149-171.
- Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics: "The Conservative Backlash Against Gender in Latin America". *Politics & Gender*, 16 (1), 2020.
- Special Issue: "Feminism(s) and Anti-gender Backlash: Lessons from Latin America". *International Journal of Feminist Politics*, vol. 23 (4), 2021.

Lasa Forum Issue: Las ofensivas antigénero en América Latina, 51 (2) <https://forum.lasaweb.org/past-issues/vol51-issue2.php>

Video series #AntiGenderPolitics in Latin America:

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLJducpng4led8BoSo_PsmW5tSME9RceVT

72 Annual Conference: Democratic Backsliding and Resistance in Latin America (Feb 29, March 1)

February 14

Feminist networks and resistance

Julia Roth: "Intersectionality Strikes Back: Right-Wing Patterns of En-Gendering and Feminist Contestations in the Americas". In Gabriele Dietze and Julia Roth (eds.). *Right-Wing Populism and Gender: European Perspectives and Beyond*. Verlag, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Gisela Zaremborg and Débora Rezende Almeida: *Feminisms in Latin America: Pro-choice nested networks in Mexico and Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Introduction.

Elizabeth Jay Friedman; Ana Laura Gustá: "Welcome to the Revolution": Promoting Generational Renewal in Argentina's Ni Una Menos". *Qualitative Sociology*, 46, 2023; 245-277.

Recommended:

ALVAREZ, Sonia. "Latin American Feminisms Go Global: Trends of the 1990s and Challenges for the New Millennium". In: ALVAREZ, Sonia; DAGNINO, Evelina; ESCOBAR, Arturo (orgs.). *Cultures of politics, politics of culture: re-visioning Latin American social movements*. Boulder/Oxford, Westview Press, 1998.

ALVAREZ, Sonia E. et al: "Encountering Latin American and Caribbean Feminisms". *Signs*, 28 (2), Winter 2003.

CICCIA, Rossela; ROGGE BAND, Conny. "Unpacking intersectional solidarity: dimensions of power in coalitions". *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 4(2), 2021; 181-198.

MASON-DEESE, Liz. "From #MeToo to #WeStrike": What can the #MeToo Movement learn from Latin American Feminists". <https://lithub.com/from-metoo-to-westrike/>

PEREIRA, Bruna; AGUILAR, Macarena. 'Nenhum passo atrás' (Not a step back): Brazilian Black women's resistance in the era of Bolsonaro's far-right government, *Gender & Development*, 29:2-3, 2021; 447-465.

POSADELA, Inés M. Posadela; BOHN, Simone (eds), *Women's Rights in Movement: Dynamics of Feminist Change in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cham: Springer, 2023.

SOUZA, Natália Maria Félix. "When the Body Speaks (to) the Political". *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 41(1) Jan/Apr 2019.

SUTTON, Barbara. "Intergenerational encounters in the struggle for abortion rights in Argentina". *Women's Studies International Forum*, 82, Sept/Oct 2020.

TABBUSH, Constanza; FRIEDMAN, Elizabeth Jay. "Feminist activism confronts the pandemic". *Feminist Studies*, 46 (3), 2020; pp. 629-638, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/829527/pdf>

Documentary. "The Rapist is You": Inside Chile's Feminist Uprising That's Gone Global

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8zv03IBcCA>

Documentary. *Fighting for women's rights - Latin America's feminist movement* | DW

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SxMc6uK3_fQ

February 21

Religious conservatism: actors, agendas, and political cleavages

Juan Marco Vaggione: "Reactive Politicization and Religious Dissidence: The Political Mutations of the Religious". *Social Theory and Practice*, 31 (2), Special Issue Religion and Politics, 2005; 233-255.

Angelica De Fago, José Moran Faúndes and Juan Vaggione: "Religious conservatism on the global stage: Threats and Challenges for LGBTI Rights". *Global Philanthropy Project*, 2018. Case 1: Actors and Strategies in Defense of a Religious Conservative Agenda in Latin America; p. 21-27. Access : <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/2018/11/04/religious-conservatism-on-the-global-stage-threats-and-challenges-for-lgbti-rights/>

Paul Freston: "Pentecostalism in Latin America: Characteristics and Controversies". *Social Compass*, 45 (3), 1998, 335-358.

Recommended:

BIROLI, Flávia; MACHADO, Maria das Dores; VAGGIONE, Juan. *Gênero, neoconservadorismo e democracia*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2020.

CARRANZA, Brenda; CUNHA, Christina Vital. "Conservative Religious Activism in the Brazilian Congress: Sexual Agenda in Focus". *Social Compass*, vol. 65, issue 4, 2018; pp. 486-502.

FAÚNDES, José Morán. 2019. The geopolitics of moral panic: the influence of Argentinian neo-conservatism in the genesis of the discourse of "gender ideology". *International Sociology*, v. 34, n. 4, p. 402-417.

FRESTON, Paul. *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

GUADALUPE, José Luiz Pérez. *Evangelicals and Political Power in Latin America*. Lima: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2019.

SMITH, Amy Erica. *Religion and Brazilian democracy: Mobilizing the people of God*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

VAGGIONE, Juan. *The Catholic Church Legal Strategies. The re-naturalization of law and the religious embedding of citizenship*. Working Paper 2. Rio de Janeiro: Sexuality Policy Watch, 2018.

MACHADO, Maria das Dores Campos. "Pentecostals and Human Rights Controversies in Brazil". *Religion & Gender*, 8 (1), 2018; pp. 102-119.

_____. "Religion and Moral Conservatism in Brazilian Politics". *Politics and Religion*, 12 (1), 2018; pp. 55-74.

Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region". Nov. 13, 2014. Available at <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2014/11/13/new-pew-research-center-report-explores-changing-religious-landscape-in-latin-america/>

RIVERA, Paulo. "Religión contra democracia: el neoconservadurismo evangélico en el Perú del siglo XXI". *Ciencias Sociales Y Religión*, 23(00), 2021, e021023.

February 28

Abortion rights and activism in LA. Strategies and legal changes.

Cora Fernández Anderson: “Legalising abortion in Argentina: Social-movements and multi-party coalitions”. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 14 (2), 2022.

Alba Ruibal: “Using constitutional courts to advance abortion rights in Latin America”. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 23 (4), 2021; 579-599.

Ernesto Vasquez Del Aguila: “Precarious Lives: Forced Sterilization and the Fight for Reproductive Justice in Peru”. *Global Public Health*, 17 (1), 2022; p. 100-14.

Recommended:

ALGORA, Rosario G. “Advancing Reproductive Rights in Latin America through a Transitional Justice Lens. *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law*, 28 (2), 2022.

ANDERSON, Cora Fernandez. *Fighting for Abortion Rights in Latin America: Social Movements, State Allies and Institutions*. New York: Routledge, 2020.

BLOFIELD, Merike; EWIG, Christina. The Left Turn and Abortion Politics in Latin America. *Social Politics*, 24 (4), 2017.

Center for Reproductive Rights: Colombia: Historic Advancements in the Decriminalization of Abortion. Bogota, 2022.

DABY, Mariela; MOSELEY, Mason W. “Feminist Mobilization and the Abortion Debate in Latin America: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics & Gender*, 18 (2), 359-292. Doi: 10.1017/S1743923X20000197

DEHESA, Rafael de la. “Network Ecologies and the Feminist Politics of ‘Mass Sterilization’ in Brazil”. In MILLIE, Thayer; TAMBE, Ashwini. *Transnational Feminist Itineraries: Situating Theory and Activist Practice*. Duke University Press, 2021.

VÉLEZ, Ana Cristina González. “The Social Movement that Shifted the Fight for Abortion Rights in Colombia”. London: LSE Blog, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2022/04/07/the-social-movement-that-shifted-the-debate-on-abortion-in-colombia/>

POUSADELA, Inés M. “From Feminist Extravagance to Citizen Demand: The Movement for Abortion Legalization in Uruguay”. Manuscript.

March 6

Anti-abortion movements: “old” dispute, new strategies.

Marta Machado, María Angélica Peñas-Defago, Camila Gianella Malca: “Anti-Abortion Mobilization in Latin America: Signs of a Field in Transformation”. *Revista Direito FGV*, 18 (3), 2022.

Verónica Pérez Bentancur; Cecilia Rocha-Carpiuc: “The postreform stage: Understanding backlash against sexual policies in Latin America”. *Politics & Gender*, 16(1), 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000069>

Camila Reuteswärd: “Pro-Life and Feminist Mobilization in the Struggle over Abortion in Mexico: Church Networks, Elite Alliances, and Partisan Context”. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 63 (3), 2021, p. 21-45.

Recommended:

BERGALLO, Paola; JARAMILLO SIERRA, Isabel Cristina; VAGGIONE, Juan Marco. *El aborto en América Latina Estrategias jurídicas para luchar por su legalización y enfrentar las resistencias conservadoras* Buenos Aires: Siglo 21, 2018.

MACHADO, Marta R. de Assis; MACIEL, Debora Alves. The State-Level Battle over Abortion Rights in Brazil. *Health and Human Rights*, [S.l.], v. 19, n. 1, p. 119-131, jun. 2017. Disponível em: <https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/2469/2017/06/Machado.pdf> Acesso em: 25 fev. 2021.

MALCA, Camila Gianella et al: “A new conservative movement? Latin America’s regional strategies to restrict abortion rights”. *CMI Brief*, 16 (05), 2017. <https://www.cmi.no/publications/6258-a-new-conservative-social-movement>

MORÁN FAUNDES, José Manuel; PEÑAS DEFAGO, María Angélica. “Strategies of Self-Proclaimed Pro-Life Groups in Argentina. Effect of New Religious Actors on Sexual Policies.” *Latin American Perspectives*, 43 (3), 2016; 144-162.

KAMPWIRTH, Karen."Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega: In Nicaragua, Leftist Politics?" *Latin American Perspectives* Issue 168, 35.6 (November 2008): 122-136.

Podcast. *Democracy in Question*: “Democracy and Demography in Peru”, with Alejandra Ballon Gutierrez: <https://open.spotify.com/episode/2F0MZIpP2CNB62WWMZA6CV?si=IGFcWj5SRwSZ6-ArgU6VHg>

March 20

Disputes over sexual rights

Javier Corrales: “Understanding the Uneven Spread of LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999-2013”. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 7 (1), 2017, pp. 52-82.

Mariana Carbajal: “How Trans Rights are Being ‘Weaponized’ by Latin American Right-Wing Populists”. *Nacla Reporting on the Americas*, 2022.

Michelle L. Dion; Jordi Díez. “Democratic Values, Religiosity, and Support for Same-Sex Marriage in Latin America”. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 59 (4), 2017, 75-98.

Recommended:

CHANDRA-MOULI, Venkatraman et al. “Evolution and Resistance to Sexuality Education in Mexico”. *Global Health: Science and Practice*, 6(1), Mar 2018; 137–149.

CORRALES, Javier; PECHENY, Mario (eds). *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010.

DEHESA, Rafael de la. *Queering the Public Sphere in Mexico and Brazil: Sexual Rights Movements in Emerging Democracies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

_____. “Social medicine, feminism and the politics of population: From transnational knowledge networks to national social movements in Brazil and Mexico”, *Global Public Health*, DOI: 10.1080/17441692.2018.1443486

- DÍEZ, Jordi. 2015. *The politics of gay marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile, and Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- GIANELLA, Camila et al. "What causes Latin America's high incidence of adolescent pregnancy?". *CMI Brief*, 16 (9), 2017.
- GOMES, Romeu; MURTA, Daniela; FACCHINI, Regina; MENEGHEL, Stela. "Gender and Sexual Rights: Implications on Health and Health Care". *Ciência e Saúde Coletiva*, 23 (6), 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232018236.04872018>
- Human Rights Watch, report on sexuality education and conflicts in Brazil: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2022/05/12/i-became-scared-was-their-goal/efforts-ban-gender-and-sexuality-education-brazil>
- KAMPWIRTH, Kelly. *LGBTQ Politics in Nicaragua: Revolution, Dictatorship, and Social Movements*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2022.
- LEÓN-CARVAJAL, Arantxa; PINEDA-SANCHO, Andrey. The Dispute around Same-Sex Marriage in Costa Rica: Arguments and Actions of Conservative Religious Activism (2017–2021). *Religions*, 14, 540, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14040540>

March 27 - *There won't be classes. Time to work on final articles.*

April 3

Violence, disputes over framings, and the dismantling of public policy

O'Brien, Cheryl, and Shannon Drysdale Walsh: "Women's Rights and Opposition: Explaining the Stunted Rise and Sudden Reversals of Progressive Violence against Women Policies in Contentious Contexts." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 52 (1), 2020; 107–131. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X19000956>.

Cecilia Menjívar Leydy Diossa-Jiménez. "Blocking the Law from Within: Familism Ideologies as Obstacles to Legal Protections for Women in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua". *Latin American Research Review*, 58, 2023; 501–518.

Susan Franceschet: "Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina". *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52 (3), 2010; p. 1-29.

Recommended

FRANCESCHET, Susan. "Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina". *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52(3), 2010; 1-29.

GARCÍA DEL MORAL, Paulina; NEUMANN, Pamela. "The Making and Unmaking of Femicidio/Femicidio Laws in Mexico and Nicaragua". *Law and Society Review*, 53 (2), 2019; 452–486. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12380>.

HTUN, Mala; WELDON, S. Laurel. "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality Policy." *Perspectives on Politics*, 8 (1), 2010; 207–16.

NEUMANN, Pamela. "Gender-based violence and the patrimonial state in Nicaragua: The rise and fall of Ley 779". *Cahiers des Amériques Latines*, 87, 2018 ; p. 69-90. <https://doi.org/10.4000/cal.8515>

- NEUMANN, Pamela. "Women's Rights in Retrograde: Understanding the Contentious Politics of Gender Violence Law in Nicaragua." *LSE Human Rights Blog*, 2017. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/80103/>.
- MACAULAY, Fiona. "Judicialising and (de)criminalising domestic violence in Latin America". *Social Policy and Society*, 5 (1), 2006; 103–114.
- MENJÍVAR, Cecilia; WALSH, Shannon Drysdale. "The Architecture of Femicide: The State, Inequalities, and Everyday Gender Violence in Honduras". *Latin American Research Review*, 52 (2), 2017; 221–240. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.73>.
- MUSALO, Karen; BOOKEY, Blaine. "Crimes without Punishment: An Update on Violence against Women and Impunity in Guatemala." *Hastings Race and Poverty Law Journal*, 10 (2), 2013; 265–292.
- VIVEROS-VIGOYA, Mara. "Masculinities in the continuum of violence in Latin America". *Feminist Theory*, vol. 17 (2), 2016; p. 229-237.

April 10

Conservatism, authoritarianism, and the far-right in Latin America

- Amy Erica Smith; Taylor C. Boas: "Religion, Sexuality Politics, and the Transformation of Latin American electorates". Working Paper, 2020.
- Mariana Miggiolaro Chaguri; Oswaldo E Amaral: "The Social Base of Bolsonarism: An Analysis of Authoritarianism in Politics". *Latin American Perspectives*, 50 (1), 2023; pp. 32-46.
- Thomas Kestler: "Radical, Nativist, Authoritarian – Or All of These? Assessing Recent Cases of Right-Wing Populism in Latin America", 14(3), 2022; 289–310.

Recommended:

- KALTWASSER, Cristóbal Rovira. "Rethinking the Right in Latin America". *Latin American Politics and Society*, 64 (4), 2022.
- MAYKA, Lindsay; SMITH, Amy E. "The Grassroots Right in Latin America: Patterns, Causes, and Consequences". *Latin American Politics and Society*, 63 (1), 2021.
- HERRÁN-ÁVILA, Luis. "The reinvention of the Latin American right". *Nacla Reporting on the Americas*, 2023. <https://nacla.org/reinvention-latin-american-right>.
- HUNTER, Wendy; POWER, Timothy. "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash". *Journal of Democracy*, 30 (1), 2019; p. 68-82.
- LÜHRMANN, Anna; LINDBERG, Staffan I. "A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it?". *Democratization*, v. 26, n. 7, p. 1095-1113, 2019.
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Podcast. El País, Anfibia Podcast: “Sin Control. El Universo de Javier Milei”, 2023. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/4EqBrBPCOmA5iPLG7rSlGI?si=Y5TJAO6lQ6OQpgGofFTe5Q>

April 17

Gender conflicts and the disputes over the meaning of democracy

Flávia Biroli and Luciana Tatagiba. “Overcoming the Bolsonaro Backlash against Gender Equality in Brazil”. The Loop, 2023. <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/overcoming-the-bolsonaro-backlash-against-gender-equality-in-brazil/>

Lisa Zanotti and Gonzalo Espinosa-Bianchini. “The Rise of the Populist Radical Right in Chile”. The Loop, 2023. <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/the-rise-of-the-populist-radical-right-in-chile/>

Simeon Djankov, Karolin Lehmann. “What’s at stake for women in Argentina”. Blog LSE, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/businessreview/2023/11/10/whats-at-stake-for-women-in-argentina/>

Nitasha Kaul. "The misogyny of authoritarians in contemporary democracies." *International Studies Review*, 23 (4), 2021; 1619-1645.

Recommended:

BIROLI, Flávia. “The backlash against gender equality in Latin America: Temporality, Religious Patterns, and the Erosion of Democracy”. *Lasa Forum*, 51 (2), 2020.

ENCARNACIÓN, Omar. “Gay rights: Why democracy matters”. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(3), 2014; 90-104.

FASSIN, Éric Fassin. “Anti-gender campaigns, populism, and neoliberalism in Europe and Latin America”. *Lasa Forum*, 51 (2), 2020.

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KALIL, Isabela et al. “Politics of fear in brazil: Far-right conspiracy theories on covid-19”. *Global Discourse* ; 11(3):409-425, 2021.

KRISZÁN, Andrea; ROGGE BAND, Conny. “Democratic Backsliding and the Backlash against Women’s Rights: Understanding the Current Challenges for Feminist Politics”, UN Women Discussion Paper N.35, 2020. <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2020/Discussion-paper-Democratic-backsliding-and-the-backlash-against-womens-rights-en.pdf>

LÜHRMANN, Anna; LINDGERG, Staffan I.. “A Third Wave of Autocratization Is Here: What Is New about It?” *Democratization*, 26 (7), 2019; 1095–1113

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RAVECCA, Paulo Ravecca; SCHENCK, Marcela; FONSECA, Bruno; FORTALEZA, Diego. “What are they doing right? Tweeting right-wing intersectionality in Latin America”, *Globalizations*, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2021.2025292>

April 24 - Research presentation.

University Policy and Guidance

Expectations

As a Carnegie I, research-intensive university, UF is required by federal law to assign at least 2 hours of work outside of class for every contact hour. That means that you are expected to do 6 hours of work outside of the classroom. Work done in these hours may include reading/viewing assigned material and doing explicitly assigned individual or group work, as well as reviewing notes from class, synthesizing information in advance of exams or papers, and other self-determined study tasks.

University Honesty Policy

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The [Honor Code](#) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the professor.

Books & materials:

Readings should be accessed using the library system. Please let me know beforehand if you have any difficulties.

Class policies & University Resources

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity:

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” [The Honor Code](#) specifies a number of behaviors that violate this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Online Evaluation:

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students [here](#).

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Technology

For succeeding in this class, you need to have access to Canvas. Please consult these guides if you are unsure about how to use this application:

For Canvas: <https://elearning.ufl.edu/keep-learning/quickstart-guide-for-students/>

Class Recording

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor. A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led

discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section.

Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Other Recommendations

Campus Resources: Health and Wellness

- U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit U Matter, We Care website to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.
- Counseling and Wellness Center: Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.
- Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or visit the Student Health Care Center website.

- University Police Department: Visit UF Police Department website or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).
- UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website.
- GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the GatorWell website or call 352-273-4450.

COVID-19 & other illnesses

- In response to COVID-19, the following recommendations are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and to further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.
- If you are not vaccinated, get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit one.ufl.edu for screening / testing and vaccination opportunities.
- If you are sick, stay home. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 to be evaluated.
- Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

Academic Resources

- E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.
- Career Connections Center: Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.
- Library Support: Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.
- Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.
- Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.
- Student Complaints On-Campus: Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code webpage for more information.
- On-Line Students Complaints: View the Distance Learning Student Complaint Process.